

ANARCHY

a journal of
DESIRE

Number 9

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!



Cliff Harper

News in Review

edited by Lev Chernyi

THE BRIXTON RIOTS A REPORT FROM ENGLAND

Everything started in Brixton with the shooting and wounding of a black woman, Cherry Groce, during a police raid on her house.

The way in which she was wounded is typical of the criminal behavior of the police of every state. Seven armed policemen burst into the flat; the woman going to the door naturally didn't immediately realize what was happening. The cops asked about her son, and frightened she turned around, perhaps to try to warn her sons who were sleeping.

A shot was fired striking her in the back. She will be permanently paralyzed.

Around mid-day all her neighbors gathered outside her house and with shouts of "Fascist Murderers!" they marched on the nearby police station. People in the street didn't understand at first, until the news spread that the woman had died. Then there suddenly appeared molotov cocktails, stones, sticks, and metal bolts. This was the signal for revolt.

From that moment on the mood was "we've had enough of the murdering police!"

It's difficult to describe the sequence of events from this moment on and it's difficult to follow the logic of events, but I'll try to discover that there's a riot going on while I'm sitting having a meal with my flat mates, a normal Saturday evening. Two friends arrive running. They burst into our house and pestered, almost unable to speak, they led us a short way to Brixton's main street.

There I saw something that I'll never forget...the sight of that street, usually full of traffic, now in flames, with the houses on either side completely swallowed up by the flames and smoke from the burning barricades. And in the middle of it all the people—familiar faces that I knew well, neighbors, children, youths—all intent on



Brixton residents attack a police station in the early stages of the riot on Sept. 28th.

building barricades, all to cover the other comrades who, in the shops along the street were organizing the most joyful acts of looting that I have ever seen. For them and for us all it was a long anticipated carnival.

Juice and soft drinks in abundance for the kids, boxes of sweets and chocolates for the grannies, for the big brothers and sisters lots of bottles of whisky—enough to get the whole of Brixton drunk that night.

SANTA COMES EARLY: And this was only for starters. In the course of the night there were people who had obviously thought of, let's say, more long-lasting goods, like jewels, watches and diamond rings. I happened to see a group of young black women standing in front of some policemen waving the

most beautiful gold watches, saying that they'd been given an early Christmas present! You can imagine how angry the cops were to be so completely ridiculed.

The most amazing thing about this kind of revolt is how it sometimes becomes just like a party or festival; the sort of thing you see in absurd films. It's enough for you to know that my neighbors, after visiting the little supermarket nearby, organized a party, a party that lasted all night, with the reggae music accompanied by the wailing of police sirens and by the arrival of the fire brigade who were trying to put out the various fires burning in the street.

But, you ask, where were the police? Well, for a good part of the

night it was impossible for the police to control the situation for two reasons—first because they were completely unprepared to deal with it, no one had expected anything like it! And secondly because the revolt spread from one part of the area to another with a violence and speed that was impossible to control.

The tactics were typical of street guerrilla fighting: mobile groups move from one part of the district to another. They throw molotovs at a target, the police arrive, there's a short violent clash, the rioters disperse, and they start again in another street. Then before police can get there they empty several shops with lightning speed and perfect organization, setting them afire so that when the police arrive their escape routes are already available, through the smoke from the fires.

That's how it was in Brixton for the whole night till, around dawn, completely exhausted, we all went to bed. Everything that the media wrote about how the police easily gained control of the area during Saturday night is untrue. It only became quiet when we decided to go to sleep, and we left the police to guard the by now empty shops and the still burning barricades.

For a month the media have been talking about nothing but these revolts and naturally they're looking for an explanation for everything that's happened. However, I think I know the motive and I finish here with the words that I heard shouted at a cop during the looting of a shop:

"Leave me alone police shit, I want to enjoy myself. Life is boring. We want the goods, the money, power... WE WANT EVERYTHING!"

(Editor's note: In addition to the Handsworth, Brixton, Toxteth and Tottenham riots, smaller scale clashes occurred all around England this fall including Asen, Salford, Hulme, Lollyhurst, Cheetham Hill, Stockport, Southall, Peckham, Forest Gate, Oxford, Rugby, Leicester, Gloucester, etc.)
SOURCE: Counter Information, Edinburgh

ETHIOPIAN'S ABUSE US AID

Widespread hunger and starvation continue to be a major part of daily life in Ethiopia. Humanitarian relief workers struggle to raise funds to alleviate some of the suffering and Americans continue to enthusiastically respond by contributing millions of dollars each year. It

is truly encouraging that so many people still care about others. However, there are some important facts that the U.S. media consistently overlook or present in a misleading manner. This leaves the majority of people in the U.S. either uninformed or misinformed.

Hunger in Ethiopia is not due to drought alone. Ethiopia is presently at war both within its borders (with the Tigrayan and Oromo people) and with the neighboring countries of Somalia and Eritrea. The Somali war is the result of a territorial dispute dating back to the 1940's, while for the past twenty-four years Ethiopian regimes have attempted to suppress and colonize Eritrea. Now Ethiopia is attempting to starve the Eritrean people into submission in order to acquire their land. The Ethiopian government spends a tremendous amount of its national budget to continue these wars. The government feels that the welfare of thousands of starving Ethiopians is secondary to the expansion of its military efforts. Thus the Ethiopian-perpetuated wars have heavily contributed to the current famine conditions.

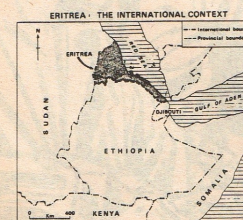
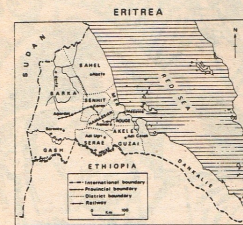
Another important fact which should be recognized is the Ethiopian regime's misuse of food aid and supplies. Other than "target specific" organizations (Eritrean Relief Association, the Relief Society of Tigray, and Grassroots International), most of the U.S. aid to Ethiopia is dispersed directly through the Ethiopian government where it is both sold in open markets and used to bolster the military regime. It is used to "bribe" hungry peasants to join its military forces, to pay for government agents and officials, and to feed the army. These well-documented facts are not usually presented by the U.S. media, so the American public remains uninformed. Because of these diversions and abuses, both famine and war-related deaths have increased since the arrival

of U.S. aid. In fact, U.S. aid is a direct causative factor in the intensification of famine conditions and the escalation of war in both Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

Drought is a major problem in Ethiopia and Eritrea. If the people were free to work their land however, without fear of the destruction of their homes, their crops and their lives, the impact of the drought would be much less severe. The International Food and Allied Workers Association has condemned the Ethiopian famine as a "political crime."

All individuals and organizations concerned with assisting famine victims are urged to be careful that their efforts are not abused. If you plan to help the "starving Ethiopians," please do so conscientiously. Your decision will help determine whether millions of people will live or die. By: Lois Sabo and David Taylor

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REAGAN'S MANDATE

Ronald Reagan wasn't able to win a majority among registered voters in the last election. When the 72.4% turnout is taken into account, registered voters break down as follows:

Reagan.....	42.6%
Mondale.....	29.5%
All others.....	0.5%
Nobody(not voting).....	27.5%

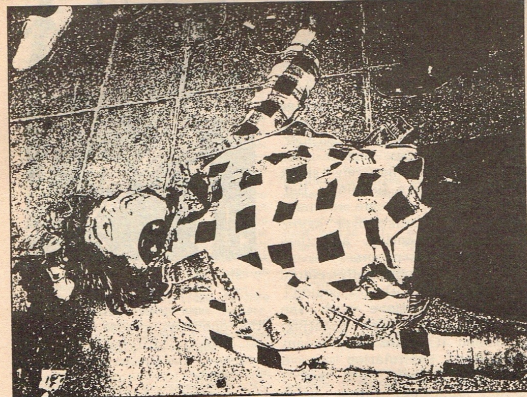
Adding those who didn't register (or couldn't register—including the many made homeless and "permanent-address"-less by Reagan's politics)... and based on the 52.9% of the voting age turnout:

Nobody.....	47.1%
Reagan.....	31.2%
Mondale.....	21.5%
All others.....	0.1%

Many new people were indeed persuaded to register for the 1984 elections, but the percentage of registered voters who actually went to the polls declined from 75.2% in 1980 to 72.4% in 1984.

You can be sure that if this were Nicaragua the U.S. press would call the election invalid due to massive voter boycott of nearly 50%! SOURCE: Mutual Aid Alternatives, Albany, N.Y.

International Anarchist News



Fifteen year-old anarchist Michalis Kaltezas lies dead.

MAJOR RIOTS IN ATHENS IN PROTEST GREEK ANARCHIST MURDERED BY POLICE

100,000 people marched through Athens on Sunday, November 17th to commemorate the occupation (by students) of the Athens Polytechnic University buildings in November, 1973, which had led to the collapse of the U.S. supported dictatorship. Despite a strong police presence some of the marchers (mostly anarchists) attacked a South African Airlines building and the Athens Hilton Hotel en route.

After the demonstration hundreds of police in cars and vans surrounded Exarchia Square (a meeting place for Athens anarchists) looking for suspects. The police were reportedly very brutal during their search of the area, creating a very tense situation, until just after midnight a crowd responded by throwing molotovs at a police van. The police evacuated the van and fired at the retreating crowd, killing a 15 year-old anarchist, Michalis Kaltezas, who was shot in the back of the head. (He was not shot "as he tossed a fire bomb at a police bus" as was erroneously reported by the Columbia Daily Tribune of Nov. 19th. He was shot down from behind as he ran amidst an escaping crowd.)

When news of Kaltezas' death spread, 200 people immediately occupied the Athens Polytechnic chemistry building in protest. This same building had been occupied in May, 1985 by anar-

chists protesting police harassment. Police quickly surrounded the building and made two unsuccessful attempts to evacuate the building during the night. Then at 11AM on the morning of Nov. 18th they used tear gas to storm the building and violently evict its occupiers. The brutal eviction of the chemistry building sparked rioting throughout the city as 5,000 protesters marched to the Houses of Parliament and 2,500 more re-occupied the Polytechnic University buildings demanding the punishment of those responsible for Kaltezas' murder. The second occupation ended the next day when the majority left and those remaining decided to leave too fearing further police brutality.

At 9PM on the night of the 18th it was announced that the Interior Minister (also responsible for Public Order) and his assistant had resigned, but their resignations were not accepted by Socialist Prime Minister Papandreu. At the same time the national police chief and two of his deputies were suspended from their duties until an investigation of Kaltezas' murder is completed (at which time they will no doubt be re-instated). One policeman, Athanasios Veliastas, has been charged with manslaughter (reduced from murder) and released conditionally without bail. However it is unlikely that he will ever be convicted.

Demonstrations, occupations, and some rioting in solidarity with the Athens occupation also took place in Salonika, Yannena, Patra, Komotini and Xanthi.

Also in response to these events a police van was blown up in Athens on November 26th, killing two cops and injuring 21. The bombing was claimed by the "November 17th" group (named after the date students occupied the Polytechnic leading the way for the fall of the dictatorship in 1973). "November 17th" is not an anarchist group, though some newspapers have spread this lie. SOURCE: Black Flag, London



ANARCHIST UNIONS IN JAPAN

Fifty years since the last anarcho-syndicalist unions in Japan disappeared, anarchists have begun reorganizing unions on a national scale. The newly recognized Japanese section of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers Association, the AIT-J, is now made up of five regional organizations: Tokyo, Saitama, Nagano, Shikoku, and Kansai. The average age of AIT-J militants is between 20 and 40 years—thus the vast majority has never been in or had any direct experience with any functioning anarcho-syndicalist unions, though they are well aware of anarcho-syndicalist theory. The AIT-J recognizes that it is still in the early stages of reconstruction.

In Tokyo many AIT-J members belong to a broad-based union in Kanto and help make up the anarcho-syndicalist tendency in this union. Other members have organized independent unions which have not yet affiliated with the AIT-J Tokyo. And still another group in this region is composed of self-employed workers, including shop owners, small workshop owners, etc. who have no employees.

In Saitama province, AIT-J members belong to several unions. A Gakuro union (for night porters) has an anarcho-syndicalist tendency. An anarcho-syndicalist Koshiro union (for workers employed by companies who are contracted by the city of Koshiro) has been organized by the AIT-J, but is not yet affiliated with it. The Koshiro local active in Koshiro's municipal hospital (made up of telephone and housekeeping personnel) is now participating in running the hospital since the boss contracted by the city disappeared!

In Nagano there are no current union activities, however this regional group is involved in anti-militarist, anti-nuclear and third world support struggles. In Shikoku region members are attempting to organize in several provinces.

In Kansai (which includes large cities like Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe, etc.) there has historically been a large anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist presence. Several anarchist groups not affiliated with the AIT-J are active here, however this region was paradoxically the last to establish an AIT-J section because of difficulties in uniting the various autonomous groups and unions which exist here. SOURCE: Black Flag, London



ANARCHISM IN ITALY

Italy has one of the healthiest anarchist movements in the world at present. Although it's a minority movement (like everywhere else at present) it is well organized, widespread and solid.

The Italian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) is an open, above-ground organization (unlike the illegal Spanish F.A.I. for instance), which is affiliated as the Italian section to the International Federation of Anarchists. The Italian F.A.I. now has offices in Bologna, Carrara, Alessandria, Reggio Emilia, Trieste, Rome, Livorno, Naples, Empoli, Imola and Milan.

Outside of the F.A.I. there are many documentation centers including the N. Papini Center in Fano, the Documentation Center in Luca, the Franco Serantini Library in Pisa, the C. Berneri Anarchist Center in Milan, the Anarchist Documentation Center in Rome, the Berneri Family Archive in Pistoia, the Ligue Syndicalist Documentation Center in Genoa, and the Anarchist Cultural Circle in Carrara.

The Italian movement publishes a wide range of anarchist periodicals and books. They include the weekly anarchist paper *Umanita Nova* published by the F.A.I. in Milan, the monthly magazine *Revista A*, and the recently resurrected anarcho-syndicalist quarterly *Autogestione*. Some of the other more well known periodicals include *Seme Anarchico* from Brescia, *L'Internazionale* from Ancona, the anti-militarist paper *Senzapatria* from Sondria, *Lotta di Classe* published by the anarcho-syndicalist U.S.I. (the Italian section of the International Workers Association), *Anarchismo* (publishing the works of Alfredo Bonanno), *Groenewald* from Milan, and *Scillia Libertaria*. This compilation is only a listing of some of the more important of the organizations and periodicals of the Italian movement which ignores its other current activities. We will include more information on Italian anarchists and their activities in future issues. SOURCE: Black Flag, London

VENEZUELAN FEDERATION

At a meeting which took place last May the *Federacion Anarquista de* Continued on back page

If people were to learn to conceive the world in the new way, without the old notion of "force," it would alter not only their physical imagination, but probably also their morals and politics.... In Newton's theory of the solar system, the sun seems like a monarch whose behests the planets have to obey. In Einstein's world there is more individualism and less government than in Newton's.... If nature, as portrayed by Einstein, is to be our model, it would seem that the anarchists have the best of the argument. The physical universe is orderly, not because there is a central government, but because every body minds its own business.—Bertrand Russell, *The ABC of Relativity*



Greek police clear Athens Polytechnic building.

A tale from NEUTRON GUN by Gerry Reith

Foreign Policy



1.

One dark and glistening night, while I calculated percentages and busied myself in other ways, I was visited by two friends, Sergei Glup and Debbie Development.

Sergei liked Debbie very much, and wanted to get in her shorts. I suspect he rather wished I wasn't present because then it would have been easier to tell her so. Although god knows why, since I was hardly in the competition, and we were all on relatively intimate terms.

They engaged in conversation, ignoring me, but preventing me from doing my work.

"I'm an authority," Sergei would announce.

"Oh, I don't know about that," Debbie might reply, coyly.

At other times the exchange went like this:

"I'm an authority."

"Yes, I see. Maybe you are after all!"

Sergei seemed to think that if he could finally establish his authority he might have a good chance of getting Debbie into the boudoir with him. This was hardly likely, but they spent much time detailing the requirements to be

met by all those who would be allowed into bed. Sergei made sure that all his categorical qualifications included Debbie, or someone like her; Debbie offered that her standards were pretty high.

At times I made the mistake of commenting.

"Love" as a word often confuses the issue," I said at one point, adding: "What we're talking about, in the abstract, is the delicate negotiations that occur...the two sides allow each other to save face for as long as they both want the bargaining to go on. They beat around the bush trying to connect each other with vague terms, thinking it's diplomatic. Say one wants the other to be at his beck and call while the other doesn't like the idea.... these types of conditions are established, perhaps, by gossiping about others...."

I was interrupted by a wave of the hand from Sergei, who translated for Debbie, telling her, "I'm the authority around here."

It carried on like this. Once in a while I popped in and got minor slaps on the wrist to remind me to keep my mouth shut unless I had something to say that would augment Sergei's standing.

2.

After a while I grew sleepy, although I was keeping an eagle eye out, practising. It was entertaining to consider the combinations, and it gave me a thrill when my silent predictions were fulfilled. But my tiredness led me to make the same mistake over again: I kept commenting, and they began to focus on me.

In a politically-related discussion of motive, I couldn't let them continue with the hogwash they were spouting; if I had it would have meant complete capitulation to a doctrine I don't hold, and I would at some future point have been called on it. "Oh come on," I said, "People basically do what they want to, within certain limits."

That's when Sergei really cut loose. It was more of an error than I at first supposed, because it should have been obvious that Sergei wasn't doing what he wanted to do by any stretch of the imagination. He got angry, probably imagining that I imputed to him some lack of desire to pork the babe in our midst.

"What do you mean, certain limits!" he roared. "Anything can be within your supposed certain limits!" If there

wasn't a rug on the floor he might have spit.

"You conveniently ignore the operative clause and seize on the qualifying one," I snapped back, irritated that he would have the effrontery to escalate, but even more irritated at myself for failing to have seen what was coming. "I'm talking about not going out for a Reese's Peanut Butter Cup when you've just fallen into an earthquake divide! It's by definition, discovered in retrospect, that's all! They do what they want to because if they didn't do it they didn't want to!"

It got worse. Sergei pulled out all the stops after seeing my acrimony. He interrupted me, not allowing the last words to be heard, and said my proposition was stupid. After he had finished (he said, "That's stupid, that's

ing and corrections on the typescript of this volume before his unfortunate demise. Some people say that Gerry too often got wrapped up in the Big Questions, others say he got strung out over a waitress. We know for sure that the FBI had found reason to launch an investigation just a few days before the end.

There will be people who say that mere "ideas" cannot be dangerous...well, they just never had any ideas like these. *Neutron Gun* doesn't just open Pandora's box, but literally tears it apart. More than just a book, this is a concussion device. Blood, sweat and tears will never taste the same again.

Denis McBee

NEUTRON GUN--A 72-page paperback book, perfect bound, featuring seven short fictions from Gerry Reith, with contributions from Sun Tzu, Ed Lawrence, Gregor Tomic, and Carly Sommerstein. Graphics by T. M. Caldwell, front cover by Freddie Baer. With an introduction by Bob Black. First edition copies are available by sending \$2.95, plus \$1.00 shipping and handling to: The Neither/Nor Press, P.O.B. 8043, Ann Arbor, MI. 48107.

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A NOTE FROM THE PUBLISHER

Ever since we started publishing, with the journal *Beatniks From Space*, the Neither/Nor Press has been the bemused recipient of a motherlode of wild and crazy stuff, the fevered high ejaculate of a widespread international network of jack-ass intellectuals. Gerry Reith, writing from Sheridan, Wyoming, quickly stood apart. He clearly had seen through the shallow depths of decadence, and was kicking at solid ground.

We first began our correspondence with Gerry Reith nearly four years ago, and in short time he had deluged onto us an emphatic series of short fictions, docu-dramas, posters and tracts--the rich effluence of a mind hard and fast at work, of a man who had found some reasons to think. We were alternately baffled, taunted, detoured and de-construct-

ed by *Minitrue*, his propaganda project, the logical imperative that had followed his exposure to the appeals to treason that issued forth from *The Last International*. Gerry was gathering his run crew via mail-order ministry, on a mission to unmask the true consequence of liberty.

A political man, Gerry was considered the "wayward young punk" of the Wyoming Libertarian Party...his peculiar path had led him to gambol about among the fringe elements, the marginals at all the wrong ends of the spectrum. He caterwauled with the anarchists, rambled around with the xerox saints, and camped out behind the barn with the Situationists. He openly embraced the 24-hour all-night rabid nihilism espoused by *The Church of the Sub-Genius*.

Impelling by the vigor and breadth of his attack, Gerry Reith was an essential catalyst in this emerging dada-base of unabashed kooks, bludgeon artists and literary jackals, swaggering young intellectuals typing until doomsday their letters of correspondence, nurturing a literature on which governments might fall, and our birds be unbowed.

One day, while reviewing our 'Gerry Reith' file, I realized that

I was holding in hand an accomplished body of work. And compelled by its gravity of consequence, I suggested to Gerry that he cull from his work a series of short stories from which we might make a book. Gerry made then the decision to temper his voice with the collaboration of others, commissioning some pieces from close associates. The project just jelled in our hands. *Neutron Gun* is modern allegory, political adventure tales designed to slap the reader in the face, sticking the shiv through the ribcage of academy.

As publisher, I was thrilled with the prospect of putting out a strong book, a page-turner more than polemic, but one that dared to chew on the meat that matters. I was stunned then when notified that Gerry had blown out his brains. I was depending on Gerry, figuring that, after the release of this book, we'd probably have a lot of explaining to do and, more than anyone else, Gerry proved hope that we might yet write our way to freedom.

He came to rest slumped by his typewriter. The papers on his desk were too blood-encrusted to leave clear his final work, but at least he managed to finish the proofread-

stupid!" twice), he talked about contradictory motives and hierarchies of desire, and I threw in a contemptuous statement to the effect that, if an action be taken, one value has by default taken precedence and can be viewed for these purposes as the prime motive in the case.

Then Sergei drew an example, which I demolished; he said that someone who writes a bad check for a hat they want has contradictory motives and isn't really doing what they want to do. I nearly laughed out loud, realizing Sergei was wondering if this example didn't have some bearing on his relationship with Debbie. It appeared to me to be quite simple, that what he meant by confused motive was the event-orientation of lies. One lies to oneself so as to lie more effectively to the other person. Sergei had designs he couldn't reveal.

But what I said was that, in the first place, error in judgement is not mutually exclusive with volition as the sine qua non of an action; and that, in the second place, people who aren't fucking autistic generally know the results of their fucking actions and in fact desire those fucking results.

But Sergei wouldn't brook the idea that some people enjoy being unhappy, even when I backed it up with the proof that exhibiting symptoms of unhappiness is a common tactic for eliciting specific responses from others.

He began getting incoherent and continued insulting me, asked what I was talking about. To which I threw in, "Commenting on the bird", which was ignored, and somehow devolved into asking me why I was disagreeing with him.

"I was defending a statement!" "What Statement?" "That statement!" he yelled, evidently having an adrenaline rush and thinking that if he could get me tongue-tied over some particular he'd have won a victory valuable enough to offset the cost to his dignity of having stooped to such a tactic. I suppose it had become a case of getting me to shut up at any cost.

I realized too late what I had done, and that, now the process had become a contest to the end since Sergei was out to re-establish authority and had nothing to lose. Not wanting to lose too much myself I decided to cut it off, get it over with by resuming, and I waved my hand in dismissal and shut up. There was no way I was going to get into a fist fight, and this was probably the next escalation.

After a few minutes during which

Debbie respectfully listened to Sergei as he cleared up such questions as why people die with smiles on their faces and whether this was proof of an afterlife, Sergei turned back to cauterize my lips for good.

"You were resisting," he said, somewhat calmer. "You got irrational, and you wouldn't listen to me because when people get to the, ah, root of the irrationality of their position, they get emotional. They get more excited the closer you get to their point of vulnerability."

Besides projecting, (it was beautiful, clinically perfect), he was giving me more reason to suspect that he actually was familiar with police method from spy interrogation training, and he was showing an interesting ability to forget what don't come in handy, like the Marin County Relationships jargon he'd been spewing earlier; if he truly thought he had me in a corner, according to his Beauty of Personhood Becoming bull-shit, he would have backed off. But this stuff only comes into play when bamboozling a potential piece of ass. Then again, some of the other schools of new age thought apparently hold that the only way you can be friends, really friends, with somebody, is to dominate them at every opportunity, destroy their defenses, leave them no privacy, secrets, or pride.

I was somewhat more irritated at this point than I had been throughout the meat of the contest, mainly with myself because I regretted ever having challenged his authority. I wasn't a contender for the girl, yet I had put our friendship to an unnecessary test. I suppose that the demand for equal footing on an intellectual basis was misinterpreted as demand for equal footing in the quest for lonely ova, probably because Sergei was using his intellectual prowess as a selling point.

Anyway, worse was to come, because I had made a dual error and exposed myself to discovered check. Debbie turned on me with this cutting motherly line, seeing she could fend off the invites tactfully by scoring points on me. This way she could bask in the cheap warmth of being desired by keeping negotiations open... which was her only interest, since anything beyond negotiation was going too far for her taste.

"What would you say if I told you that I love you as you are," she began, making me wince, and evidently dismissing from memory her sage nods at my explication that 'love' is a worthless bargaining chip, seeing as how it remains

undefined by the person who first anted up, "... But..." (and here the buzzwords came thick & fast) "... you cannot ever be my political leader." ... You're too young, your ideas are too radical, but I'd like to keep a dialogue open with you even though I don't plan on ever agreeing with you over the long particular, especially the important ones, and you will in fact be wasting your time to talk to me, but I know you'll never let your frustration show because then I'll be able to hit you over the head with having hurt my feelings." In all, the raving took about five minutes, and five minutes of acute discomfort are a small price to pay to stave off a month-long campaign. Sergei stared at me with a facial response to the onslaught, so I did my best catatonica, making with the blank stares, which is known in the trade as clamping up or diminished affect.

In the end I struggled, since the thrust was clear before she had finished and I'd had time to figure out which act would neutrally signify recognition that it was over. Her pitch constituted an insult the likes of which I have seldom received, and they both thought they were loving friends.... It was almost terrifying. I sat still for a while. Any material counter-attack would have given them an excuse to resume the fusillade.

Moving around while they babbled, collecting coffee cups and straightening up papers, served to get them standing and moving towards departure. They both knew I was getting late and I wasn't done with my work. They haggled over the literal content of religion (which keeps some people busy for centuries), mostly to the effect that Debbie hoped to see the newly-ordained authority to endorse her delusions about god and happiness when you're dead.

As it turned out, Sergei tired of this before Debbie did, perhaps realizing that he'd been taken for a ride. He bowed out, and Debbie stayed on to

repeat her line about not having the slightest respect for my politics, but at the same time wanting to keep an interesting whipping boy or clown to call on for occasional entertainment, and by the way, proofs of god, reincarnation, and similar patronizing shit.

I did my best to keep writing at my desk and patently ignore her, but she really must have had a blood lust. She went and made a new pot of coffee and brought a cup over to sit and drink it while reciting some disordered litany. I stopped working and listening long enough to formulate the necessary shrapnel grenades.

"Look," I said, with a fierce glare and a commanding tone that was unusual between us but functional now that I was bent on ridding myself of this insect as quickly as possible, "All you are trying to do is find some smart people who will tell you that what you read in crank paperbacks is true. You continue to refuse to look at the uses of your beliefs despite the clear necessity of doing so when evaluating them overall. I find it obnoxious that you try to pester me into sanctioning this bullshit consolatory prattle. Go away and drown in your doubts if you want to, I'm not an authority to be called on to allay your fears, quit harassing me."

"H'm..." she said, at a loss for words. Not long after, she left.

I recalled the time when I had given Sergei's brother, Rinza, a briefing on the content of Jay Hisey's masterwork, *Strategies of Psychotherapy*. "H'm..." he said, at a loss. Maybe if Jo'Shu had said it.

"Yeah," I carried on, ignoring the "H'm". "When I read it I thought I'd never be able to carry on a normal relationship with anyone ever again." But who wants to? Hierarchies are the norm here in human-land. In hierarchies, as they say, you either lick boot or kick face.

THE BADGUY REPORT

MANEATER messes up

Openers: Lots of changes in punkville lately. Chris Stiff of Java left for Billingham with the next issue ready to go to press when the money's available. That means the end of the Dharma Bums/Scarboroughs saga.... The Art Sluts resurrected and self-destructed; the emotional intensity, the anger and the urgency that used to send chills up my spine was lacking in their reprise. There were some touching, imaginative, and tickling individual efforts within the show at the Blue Note, just the ensemble and the danger were missing.... Like a Horse did their last gig (for a while at least); are looking for a new drummer. Ralph (whose comic on graffiti appears on page 12) is moving to San Francisco, as is Chris Howland, the most radiant hippie smurf-punk this side of fantasyland.

Nike Simms is moving in with Maggot out in S.F. too. Nike has the love and respect of so many folks here that his absence will be like the eye of a storm. It has been a pleasure watching him grow from Causes of Tragedy, to Orange Doe-Luts, to Bone Deep, to Evil Jeeziz. Drumming us to places we could only leap from at our peril. Arianne of Subliminal Nightmare (KOPH's punk show, late Saturday night 3-6AM) has moved on to new and more daring adventures in Massachusetts. Kathy Kat will be taking over her show with help from Tim and Craig of Lurking Fear. The Kat woman can also be seen as the warbly

wicked vocalist of The First Bank of Christ.... Finally it's too late to hug D. Boon, the big fellow who played guitar with the Minutemen. He died in a car wreck just before Christmas. A guy who cared.

* * * * *

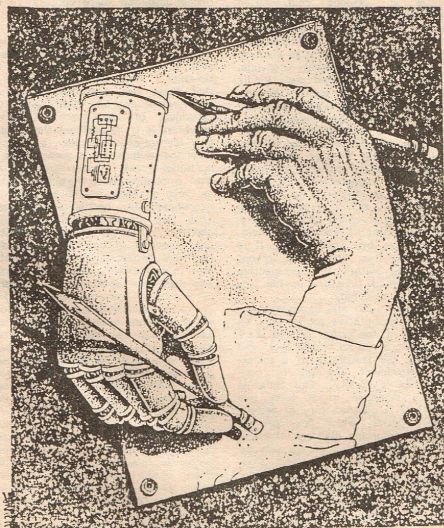
In October I agreed to do an interview with Kris Rapinac of the *Maneater* as an act of kindness. She sincerely wanted to do a good story on *ANARCHY; a journal of desire armed*. I had no illusions that any reporter could do a story without distorting anarchist ideas, the nature of this publication, or my own creative invention of living in Columbia. I told Kris this, but she was determined to have a go at it. She was more intelligent than most reporters I've encountered, and not as cocky and conformist in her sensibilities (like, say, Forrest Rose). Despite these plusses and her good faith effort the article, which appeared in the *Maneater* in early November, contained a number of misleading statements and misquotes. I'll quote the passages from the article and comment on them one at a time.

"Badguy" who hides his identity from local police through a pseudonym...."

Local policeman Dean France visited *Maneater* editor Lamar Graham seeking the identity of the writers who had pointed out the unnecessary brutality and poor judgement of France and other cops in their killing.

Continued on page 9

"DO YOU HAVE IDEAS OR



DO IDEAS HAVE YOU?"

Cooperation is anarchy

In 1983 at the height of my involvement as a volunteer worker at our local food co-op, the Columbia Community Grocery, I wrote the first three articles (2 notes for several more) of a projected series on the relation of cooperation to anarchy. Those three articles duly appeared in the CCG Newsletter, and there followed a brief critical dialogue for several issues which ultimately degenerated into a call by a flustered Community Grocery staff member for the partial censorship of my articles from the newsletter's pages.

We are now reprinting this exchange in its entirety since we believe it is well worth reprinting for two basic reasons:

1) The Columbia Anarchist League remains committed to the struggle to create a genuinely free and cooperative society--and the original "Cooperation is anarchy" series continues to retain the validity, relevance and significance that it held with its original publication. Moreover, now that this journal is appearing again we have an opportunity to present the ideas expressed in these articles to an audience over ten times larger than the CCG Newsletter ever could reach.

2) It is very instructive to look at the reaction generated by this series. The original series of articles was meant to show how radical the idea of creating a genuinely cooperative society really is. The response to this series reveals just how far removed from such a goal many of those who presume to speak in the name of "cooperation" and "the cooperative movement" really are. It further reveals the hypocrisy and bankruptcy of the narrow visions such people maintain of the possibilities for the practice of cooperation. How else can you portray the actions of a staff member of an organization (whose nominal goal has always been to educate people concerning the desirability of organizing our society along cooperative lines) who attempts to hinder the publication of a series of articles consistent with its very goal? Aside from a few brief notes I'll let the articles speak for themselves.



COOPERATION IS ANARCHY AN INTRODUCTION

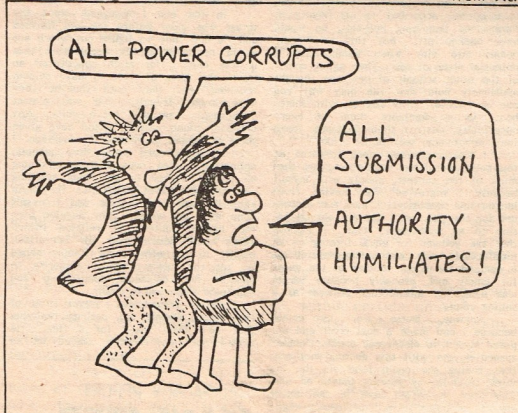
by Jason McQuinn

As some newsletter readers may remember, I wrote a short article for the CCG Newsletter (that appeared in Volume II, No. 9) that was meant to be the beginning of a series of articles to run under the title "Cooperation is anarchy." Subsequent events distracted me from continuing that series at the time, but I have decided that now is the time

to resume my investigation of the nature of cooperation and what it means for us to have as our goal the organization of a cooperative society (see the CCG bylaws, Article 1). In returning to this series of articles, I want to begin by briefly explaining the title of the series to those who don't immediately see the connection between cooperation and anarchy.

Cooperation is usually defined as a social relationship in which people work together toward common goals. This necessarily implies that the people

from Xtral



COOPERATION IS ANARCHY PART TWO

by Jason McQuinn

Each of us who works, shops, or just loiters in the Community Grocery probably has some idea about what a cooperative is, or at least what we ever think about what cooperation means, or could mean if it was adopted as a primary principle of our social organization?

One of the stated purposes of the CCG in its corporate bylaws is "to educate and provide materials to educate its members and the general public to the value, benefit, and desirability of organizing our society along cooperative lines..." But how many of us have ever thought about what the organization of our society along cooperative lines would really entail? This is the second of a series of articles in which I'd like to share my thoughts and perspectives on these questions with readers of this newsletter. As you may have guessed from the title of this series, I am an anarchist, and would like to explain why I see anarchism as the most natural, consistent, and practical expression of the movement to create and organize a cooperative society.

Cooperation consists of two or more people voluntarily and consciously working together for both their self-benefit as individuals and or their overall collective benefit as a group. If we consider extending this principle of social organization throughout our society, reorganizing our individual and collective lives in accordance with it, what kind of society would we envision? Before I answer this question, let's rule out three common misconceptions about the limits of the possible application of the cooperative principle to social organization.

The first misconception involves a definite tendency in the cooperative movement which considers the unquestionable limits of its field of action to be those of the present social system. This social system is based upon hier-

archical domination (control of the many by the few) and commodity-exchange (in which every natural human relationship is perverted and deformed by the invasion of market relations; and everything, including our own lives, time and energies, is transformed into a commodity to be bought and sold). This purely liberal tendency seeks only to ameliorate the massive violence, misery, and discontent generated by this system without ever confronting its basic nature. There is an obvious contradiction involved in founding any movement for cooperation upon an underlying system of domination by coercive hierarchies, and upon the human exploitation involved in an economy of commodity-exchange. Such a narrowly conceived and timidly defensive attempt to lessen the inhumanity of capitalist institutions and practices is doomed to demoralization and failure since its basic strategy calls for conceding defeat first (since it sees no real possibility of ever creating a genuinely cooperative society), and then proceeding to organize for a long, drawn-out and inevitably losing struggle.

In fact, it really acts to strengthen the anti-cooperative principles of our society by adding a veneer of humanity to them which solidifies their hold on us. It is little wonder then that most co-ops which operate within this perspective for any length of time end up less cooperative than co-opted.

Secondly, there are those who believe that a cooperative society can be created only if the power of the state and corporations can be "taken over" and reformed by the leadership of a social-political movement devoted to constructing such a society. This belief is dangerously mistaken in at least two ways. (1) It is contradictory to believe that state power, which developed as a means of enforcing divisions of class, caste, privilege and property, can be taken over and used to coercively organize and defend independent, cooperative institutions. (2) It is also unrealistic to expect that a movement which incorporates the anti-cooperative principle of hierarchical domination (necessary for it to take over state power) in its own organization would be able to do any-

involved act freely in their own interests which include the mutual goals toward which they work, since you couldn't accurately describe the relation of one person who is forced to follow the orders of another person as one of mutual cooperation without doing violence to its meaning. Thus a genuinely cooperative society must embody a form of anarchy, which is first of all defined as a social situation in which authority does not exist--in which society is no longer divided into rulers and followers, but rather in which people act together as equals through the creation of cooperative institutions through which they can organize and regulate their own social existence.

If you understand this reasoning and are not put off by the secondary usage of the word "anarchy" as a synonym for disorder (which is not at all consistent with its primary definition except as a statement of authoritarian prejudice against the possibility of a free, cooperative society), you will see that in order to consistently advocate the organization of a cooperative society, we must face and come to terms with the problem of authority. This is necessarily true since no authoritarian society (no society organized upon the principle of authority rather than that of free cooperation) can be more than superficially, and thus not genuinely, cooperative in nature.

I hope that this helps explain why as a cooperative anarchist, I am writing a series of articles under this title. And I hope that you will join me in exploring the mutual implications of cooperation and anarchy in the coming months. In the next installment I'll take a closer look at some common misconceptions about the organization of a cooperative society, and outline the basic institutional structure that such a society would involve.

thing but reproduce the same hierarchical relations if it ever actually took power. Just look at the results of sixty years of so-called "socialist" and "communist" regimes which have taken power with the aim of creating cooperative societies. The results are all too disgustingly familiar.

Finally, there is a growing misconception (among pacifists, "new-geists", etc.) that it is only possible to build a cooperative society piecemeal by substituting here and there cooperative relations and institutions in a peaceful and non-threatening way. They believe that eventually such a strategy would result in the non-violent victory of cooperation over hierarchical and commodity relationships. This view naively assumes that these two contradictory types of relationships are interchangeable and independent of any overall framework. However, it is no accident that cooperative institutions have such a hard time surviving as functioning cooperatives in a capitalist world. Cooperatives are faced with a continuous struggle for existence as long as they are situated in such overwhelmingly hostile circumstances. They are constantly undermined and destabilized by the demands, conditions, and practices of capitalism because all capitalist institutions and social relations are interdependent upon one another. Together these relations and institutions of capitalism form an integrated fabric in which each reinforces the position of all the others, giving the system as a whole an almost unassailable stability. To genuinely change one institution or social relation of capital is to be forced to challenge all the others also. In these circumstances true cooperatives will remain marginal phenomena unless they become part of a more general movement to comprehensively and forcefully abolish the interdependent web of hierarchical institutions and commodity-exchange relationships. Such a movement would simultaneously create in their place a self-reinforcing, interdependent framework of cooperative institutions and libertarian social relationships. This more general movement

Continued top of next page

COOPERATION IS ANARCHY
PART TWO Continued

is exactly what anarchists seek to develop and encourage.

Thus we return to the original question of which type of society would result if a general movement to create a cooperative or anarchist world was successful. We have seen that it would consist of an interdependent matrix of cooperative institutions and relations, and that it could exist only in the ab-

sence of any hierarchical institutions or social relations of commodity-exchange. What individual cooperative institutions and relations would make up this matrix? I will name a few of the possibilities. The territorial organization of a cooperative society would consist of a nested system of autonomous households (including living collectives, housing cooperatives, single-family homes, etc.) federated to form autonomous block and street associations, which would in turn federate to form autonomous neighborhood associations.

These in their turn would federate to form autonomous communities (or neighborhood federations), which would then federate to form autonomous districts, towns, cities, regional federations, etc. The economic organization of cooperative production would consist of socialized, self-managed workplaces federated by industry or trade as well as territorially. And the organization of distribution would consist of the federation of socialized consumer cooperatives by general type of distribution (food, hardware, etc.) and by territorial unit. To

complete this schematic picture, all other imaginable social needs would be satisfied by the organization of free cooperative social organizations, educational and scientific societies, communes and collectives, etc. Every institution at every level would be directly controlled and self-organized by everyone concerned. They would all be open to participation without discrimination. And they would each be able to develop according to their own needs and circumstances without direction by the rigid hand of centralized power.

COOPERATION IS ANARCHY
PART THREE

by Jason McQuinn

Some people think consumer cooperatives should be little more than economic entities—just capitalist businesses that can acquire capital by selling memberships instead of issuing stock. Often these people see cooperatives (in somewhat reform-minded terms) as businesses that are better able "to serve consumers" because they offer some degree of participation by the community in their operation. And then again, sometimes they view even a small degree of community participation with suspicion, as more of a threat or an inconvenience than it is really worth.

I believe that a completely different perspective on cooperatives is reflected by the Columbia Community Grocery's statement of purpose as it appears in the CCG bylaws. According to this statement, the primary purpose of the CCG is not economic at all. It is "to educate and provide the materials to educate its members and the general public to the value, benefit and desirability of (1) organizing our society along cooperative lines and (2) growing, distributing, and eating nutritious foods grown in harmony with nature." Although this primary purpose is obviously not always agreed to by everyone in-

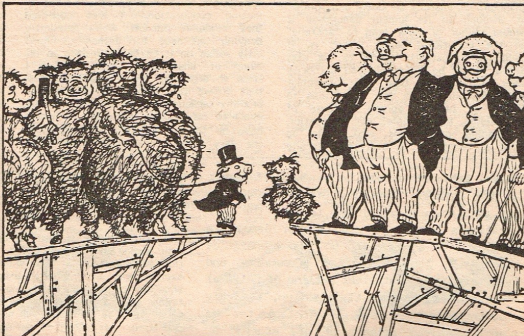
involved in the CCG, it is at least for now our official and nominally agreed purpose. And this to my mind is precisely what sets the CCG above and beyond the vast majority of the storefront cooperatives that I have seen in operation across the country.

In my view by far the greatest tool the CCG has for educating ourselves and the general public concerning the "organization of society along cooperative lines" is its very existence as a social process through which we can all learn more about the possibilities of cooperative social relationships and organization in actual practice. In this sense, I see the CCG as embodying some of the more important organizational features that a truly cooperative society would possess. These features center on our commitment to create a genuine process of membership participation and control through direct democracy, and our antipathy to the profit-motive as a principle of organization and of social relationships. (This second feature is exemplified by the CCG motto "food for people, not for profit.") For, as an anarchist (that is, as a person who is above all interested in helping to create our individual and collective ability to live and control our own lives), I believe that a truly cooperative society is impossible without the genuinely conscious and direct participation of the vast majority of people in all phases of the

planning, control, management, and operation of social institutions. Without this, and without the abolition of the profit motive and the wage slavery which accompanies it, any vision of a

cooperative society will remain a farce and a sham, only functioning to hide the basic problems of alienation and exploitation what civilization has been founded upon.

The difference between Communism and capitalism:
Under capitalism it is dog-eat-dog; under Communism, it is just the reverse.



from Black Eye

Note: I believe Al was (and presumably he still is) a philosophy graduate student and T.A. This may partly account for the quasi-logical approach of his article. UNC is not exactly famed for its philosophy department.

IF COOPERATION IS
ANARCHY, THEN IS PEANUT
BUTTER OIL-FREE?

by Al Messner

I'm responding to the first of two articles written by Jason McQuinn, entitled "Cooperation is anarchy." They appeared in the July 1st and July 22nd issues of the CCG Newsletter.

As you may have surmised from the title, I'm rather skeptical of McQuinn's claim that cooperation and anarchy are equivalent. Before proceeding to my critical remarks, however, I want to establish what we share in common. Like many of you in our co-op, I am philosophically committed to working towards a more cooperative society. I also perceive our co-op here in Columbia as an oasis in the desert of the dominant system of capitalism.

In his first article, McQuinn presumably tries to justify his controversial title "Cooperation is anarchy." Unfortunately McQuinn cavalierly and naively takes for granted what he should not: that like himself, we should have no trouble in seeing the connection between cooperation and anarchy—if not immediately then merely requiring a brief explanation. "...I want to begin by briefly explaining the title of the series to those who don't immediately see the connection between cooperation and anarchy" (my emphases). However, not only do I not see the connection immediately, I don't see it upon considerable reflection. If fact, I believe cooperation and anarchy are essentially incompatible. Nonetheless, I could be wrong. But to convince me (and no doubt others at the co-op) otherwise, doesn't it seem reasonable to expect McQuinn to have spent most of his time in trying to explain such a connection, rather than trying to get by with a brief explanation?

Be that as it may, let's proceed to McQuinn's brief arguments anyway. He first defines cooperation as "a social relationship in which people work together towards common goals." That seems like an okay definition. He then goes on to elaborate the meaning of "cooperation" as (rightly, I think) implying that "people involved act freely in their own interests which include the mutual goals toward which they work, since you couldn't accurately describe the relation of one person who is forced to follow the orders of another person as one of mutual cooperation without doing violence to its meaning" (McQuinn's emphases). Again I have no quibble with him.

It is the next sentence, however, that stretches my logical credulity (at least initially). It begins with a "thus" and is apparently supposed to follow from what he has just said above: "Thus (my emphasis) a genuinely cooperative society must embody a form of anarchy, which is first of all defined as a social situation in which authority does not exist, in which society is no longer divided into rulers and followers, but rather in which people act together as equals through the creation of cooperative institutions through which they can organize and regulate their own social existence." Granting my conception of authority, however, this sentence does not follow at all from the previous one.

Puzzling over why he thought that anarchy is a logical requirement for cooperation, I reasoned that he must have in mind something like the following limited and negative conception of "authority": roughly "any relationship between two or more people, in which some of them force the others to do things against their will." Now admittedly, McQuinn nowhere comes out and directly says this, but it seems an implicit and unquestioned assumption. For one thing, if we accept this definition of "authority" we will then have little trouble concluding that genuine cooperation must exclude "authority." That my interpretation of McQuinn's conception of "authority" is probably not far off the mark is, I believe, strengthened by various equivalences and oppositions he uses in his arguments. For example, he clearly equates "authority" with "authoritarianism": he says authoritarian societies

are based on the principle of authority. And at another place he implies that authority is based on compulsion, whereas anarchy is based on freedom from compulsion.

Assuming that I've correctly interpreted McQuinn's conception of "authority," it is easy to see why McQuinn sees the equation between cooperation and anarchy. However, I don't think that most of us here at the co-op would subscribe to such a simple black-and-white analysis of "authority" and "cooperation."

A more fruitful and realistic way of conceptualizing "authority" is to perceive it as a "multithetic" concept, similar to the concepts of "freedom" and "justice" rather than as a monolithic concept, having only one meaning. There are obviously a number of different notions of "freedom" and "justice" in America. Clearly, it would be hasty to conclude that just because we don't like the dominant conceptions, that therefore "freedom" and "justice" are bad and we'd be better off without them. Yet, analogously, this is just what McQuinn has done with the concept of "authority." Metaphorically, he has "thrown the baby out with the bathwater." Instead of looking only for the negative aspects, one can more meaningfully inquire into various senses of "authority" and further ask which are or are not compatible with the spirit of cooperation.

Of course, I can think of at least three different kinds of "authority": (1) the authority of individuals, (2) the authority of communal or cultural values and rules, and (3) the authority of a group of leaders or of "government." And these kinds in turn can be interpreted in various negative and positive ways.

Let's first consider the authority of particular individuals "over" others. Concealed negatively, I can think of people (parents, teachers, employers, officials) who are, as we say, in certain positions of authority—whose rules, policies, or actions we may resent. Why? I can think of a variety of reasons: (1) they represent and/or support a value system we may abhor; (2) they fail to practice what they preach, applying a double standard; and (3) we consider what they teach us as relatively trivial or irrelevant, judged from our own

priority of values. Looking for more positive examples of "authority," I can think of people we respect even though they may or may not hold any official position of authority (or may even be in trouble with them). In short this is the authority of skill and competence of so-called "natural" leaders, who "command" respect not in virtue of their position or threat of force, but in virtue of certain abilities or of the kind of life they lead. This includes some doctors, dentists, professors (and more relevant to our concerns) people who seem to have considerable insight, theoretical and/or practical, into human existence: think of "leaders" like Marx and Gandhi. Considering McQuinn's presumed intent of writing the two articles, it is reasonable to deduce that he too believes in this kind of authority. That is, he presumably believes in the authority of his insight into social problems and that he may be able to help lead us to his anarchistic utopia.

But what should we make of this inconsistency just uncovered? Is it possible McQuinn had not considered this sense of "authority?" Or perhaps what he really means is that until we get to his anarchistic utopia, we need the authority of people like Marx and himself, but once we get there, everyone becomes equal in authority? If so, then he is certainly not saying what he means.

Secondly, what about the common goals and rules of a society? Should they never have any authority over its individuals for the sake of ensuring cooperation? Admittedly, in our own complex society we do not collectively and cooperatively choose our social objectives and rules. But just because many (or most) of the values and rules in our country confront some of us (like McQuinn and myself) as oppressive and dehumanizing does not entail that all rules or constraints are bad. Is there not a big difference between being subjected to goals and rules over which we had no say in developing and would not care agreed to those rules in the position of deciding our "social contract"—and social goals we could commit ourselves to if we had our druthers? Suppose we cooperatively decide on common

Continued on next page

Cooperation is anarchy

goals on some remote island--does it follow from this that our new goals and rules have no "authority" on its members? Ideally such an arrangement would minimize the conflict between the needs of individuals and society. Yet such self-imposed goals/rules would still require us to subordinate our own individual impulses or desires to the common good. This is not far-fetched, since Marx himself anticipates the likelihood of backsliding into old capitalistic ways of thinking and habitual patterns. (The tendency by succeeding generations to both take for granted and challenge the established way of life and the need to initiate its young members I will only mention in passing.)

However, if we take McQuinn's principle of anarchy seriously and follow it through to its logical conclusion it would sooner or later lead to "anarchy" in the traditional sense. That is, if McQuinn consistently sticks to his idea there should be no recognized authority over individuals, then any anarchist member could break the very rules to which he himself agreed (because of backsliding, for example), not to mention succeeding generations who made no such agreements. If everyone literally

"did their own thing" without respecting the rights of others (as is so pervasive now), it would indeed destroy any spirit of cooperation there was to begin with. For cooperation is not possible without committing oneself to goals and rules whose authority we accept as binding on us. (Space considerations have prevented me from taking up the third sense of "authority" I had mentioned. I hope to do so at a later time.)

In conclusion, I think I've shown that McQuinn's concept of "authority" is bankrupt, albeit allowing him to logically equate cooperation with anarchy. Instead I argued that a broader conception of "authority" leads to the conclusion that there are positive senses of authority which are not only compatible, but indispensable, to promoting cooperation. I also observed that McQuinn himself while explicitly denying the need for authority, implicitly relies on it to get followers to his camp of anarchists. And, finally, I tried to argue by reductio ad absurdum that if we took McQuinn's principle of anarchy (absence of any authority whatever) to its logical conclusion, it would have as one of its major consequences the very sense of "anarchy" most of us

associate with that term--and be inimical to the goal of cooperation. I concluded that in the spirit of cooperation we must be willing to subordinate our tendency towards backsliding, or of giving in to selfish desires which conflict with the welfare of the community as a whole.

AN ANARCHIST RESPONSE by Jai Noa

Since AI describes anarchy as a state where everyone "did their own thing without respecting the rights of others," it is easy to see why he claims anarchy is incompatible with cooperation. However, his notion, which expresses a common false stereotype of anarchy, has nothing to do with the actual theory and practice of communist-anarchist ideas. It would have been more honest for AI to say: "I don't know what anarchy is, but this is the uninformed prejudice I have about it." It would have been even better if, instead of misrepresenting McQuinn's ideas, he had simply asked the questions that he had, and given Jason the opportunity to explain.

When we anarchists oppose the exercise of authority, we are opposing the exercise of "the power to require and receive submission." Our precise definition is derived from our analyses of human psychology and history, and is suitable to the context to which we refer. Other definitions of authority may be reasonable in other contexts, but they are irrelevant to the theme of "Cooperation is anarchy." The primary point of that essay was that if habits of cooperation were extended to all areas of everyday life, the result would be a society of non-hierarchical, freely-organized communities. And this is the same thing we have in mind when we call for the creation of anarchy.

I hope this makes clearer why we take pride in the CCG as a partial movement toward our practical desires for the future. I think the newsletter should remain a forum where we can openly discuss our differences, and challenge one another to delve more deeply into the implications of our activity. But even more crucial to this reflective utopian project is openness to personal vulnerability, a lot of loving, and the freedom to be foolishly when our passion mocks reality!

Note: Allen was a relatively new staff member at the Columbia Community Grocery when this was written. He was hired to keep the corporation's books. He also styles himself as something of an "expert" on "the cooperative movement." He has written *Community and Cooperation: An Historical Outline of Cultural Innovation in Western Civilization*, a highly idiosyncratic eight-page study notable for the almost complete absence of any mention of radical cooperative and communitarian traditions in its pages. This publication is available free at the CCG.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF COOPERATION

by Allen Butcher

This article is inspired by the recent series of articles titled "Cooperation is anarchy." I first would like to explain why I personally disagree with equating cooperation and anarchy, then follow with a few general definitions of what we may be about in building cooperation. My effort to define cooperation comes from my disposition toward viewing cooperatives as being part of a "movement" or, perhaps more in vogue these days, a "cultural transformation." I personally avoid using the term "revolution" for much the same reason that I shy away from using the term "anarchy" --these terms really don't convey the kind of meaning that I feel would be most constructive.

Although in one sense we may equate anarchy and cooperation--in that the two concepts generally do uphold the virtue of individual autonomy--the issue of authority, as Al Messner in his recent article explains, provides a basis for differentiating between the two terms. The issue of authority actually presents a spectrum of political doctrine, the two extreme and opposing ends being defined by the concepts of anarchy and totalitarianism.

Cooperation, however, occupies much more of a middle ground relative to the concept of authority in political doctrine. The term cooperation implies "mutual individual adjustment to harmonious functioning," whereas anarchy implies "absolute individual liberty." Now, an individual may exercise one's liberty in joining into a cooperative relationship, and may consider that cooperative relationship to be anarchist, but as soon as the individual concedes to any issue which compromises one's own liberty for the goals or concerns of the group as a whole, then it is entirely incorrect for that person to speak of their cooperative relationship as being anarchist. In general, to equate anarchy and cooperation is to be naive about the real meanings of the two terms. Upon consideration of motives, the effort to equate two different concepts such as cooperation and anarchy may be an attempt to give credence to a particular theory by equating it with something else which may be much more highly regarded.

The contradictory nature of individual and group wills or needs is the paradox of governance. The effort to reconcile these differences is what I think of as the art of cooperation. As D. H. Lawrence wrote, "There must be brotherly love, a wholeness of humanity. But there must also be pure, separate individuality, separate and proud." At certain points the individual and the group are interlocking, yet both must be sufficiently autonomous to resist submergence of one by the other. It is the



system of governance within the group or community which must attempt to find the median point between individual and collective needs. Various processes exist for accomplishing this, including participatory systems of setting common goals, objectives and methods, and consensus procedure in conflict resolution. It is the effort or struggle toward defining and attaining our goals which results in the creation of a cooperative community.

In closing, I would like to present three slightly differing methods of defining a cooperative society: trusteeship or social service foundation, the cooperative commonwealth, and social ecology.

Trusteeship-social service foundation: All social, political and economic activities are controlled by those affected, and managed for the health and welfare of the society, as well as of the individual.

Cooperative commonwealth: Entire economic structure comprised of

autonomous, cooperatively organized community groups, with regional and national coordination.

Social Ecology: "Social ecology is an activity which seeks to harmonize human societies within themselves and with nature. It goes beyond any other philosophy, including anarchism, in considering the intricate relationships among all living and non-living natural forms." (From the Institute for Social Ecology, POB 89, Plainfield, VT 05657)

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COOPERATION IS
HIERARCHY?

by Jason McQuinn

I was delighted to see that my small series of three educational articles entitled "Cooperation is anarchy" inspired both Al Messner and Allen Butcher to present some of their own thoughts on the definition and socio-political implications of cooperation in the last two issues of this newsletter. Originally I didn't intend to reply directly to Al Messner's article criticizing my positions since it unfortunately missed my basic point and focussed instead on a tangential criticism of my use of the word "authority." However, since Allen Butcher also wrote a critical piece in the following newsletter, and since both essays do raise questions that need to be clarified to avoid similar confusions, I have decided to speak to both of their articles here. In addition, since they both deny that cooperation is a form of anarchy, and since hierarchy (i.e. the power or rule of some people over others) is the opposite of anarchy (i.e. the absence of rulers) in meaning, I am using the ironic title "Cooperation is hierarchy."

Al Messner argues in the Sept. 16th newsletter that my use of the word "authority" to denote the relationship of "rulers to followers" is too narrow, and that this use somehow invalidates my equation of cooperative relationships with those of an anarchist community. However, a careful reading of my original statements will reveal that the

concept of authority is actually only peripheral to my argument, and that this word could have been deleted entirely and replaced with the words "hierarchical relationships" without in any way changing my point. And even if my argument had depended upon a concept of authority, it obviously proves nothing when a person substitutes another definition for that term and then complains that his new interpretation of the argument no longer makes sense! If this were all it took to produce a logical disproof, our philosopher friends would have no trouble disproving everything under the sun. If I tell someone that (for example) the Ukrainian people are enslaved by the authority of an autocratic Soviet state, most people will have no problem understanding the specific meaning of "authority" that I have in mind. Obviously it is intended in the specific sense of the political authority to command obedience. If someone else then complains that by another "more positive" sense of the word (say, the authority of "people we respect," or of the "skill and competence of ...natural leaders") this statement makes no sense and that therefore the Ukrainian people aren't enslaved at all, one can only wonder at the lapse of logic involved. This is analogous to what Al Messner has done with my original article.

Allen Butcher makes a similar semantic mistake in his article "Towards a definition of cooperation." Here, rather than using the word "anarchist" in the sense in which I used it in my original article (for one who opposes all

hierarchical or compulsory relationships), he naively substitutes his own idiosyncratic meaning according to which, from his point of view, an anarchist can never "concede to any issue which compromises (her or his) own liberty for the goals or concerns of the group as a whole," without ceasing to remain in an anarchist relationship. This statement is quite ambiguous in meaning as it stands in his article and can have either one of two basic meanings. Either he means that the concession "to any issue which compromises (an anarchist's) own liberty," is a **freely agreed to** concession, in which case it is obviously both an anarchist and a cooperative relationship even according to Allen's own prior definitions; or he intends to say that it is a **compulsory** concession, in which case it is equally obviously neither an anarchist, nor a freely cooperative relationship.

There is a third possible sense that he may be trying to express, but it is really just a combination of the first two possibilities. In this third case, he could mean that the concession involves both elements of free choice and elements of compulsion. And this is indeed the way most political relationships in the real world function! However, this wouldn't change the outcome of his argument at all since if the concession is predominantly freely agreed to, then it remains both predominantly anarchist and cooperative. On the other hand, if it is predominantly compulsory, then it remains neither anarchistic nor cooperative. And if it is somehow "half

free" and "half compulsory" it can only be characterized as an ambiguous concession, neither cooperative and free, nor uncooperative and unfree, but containing elements of both in an unstable combination.

I think that by now it is clear that as long as we remain within an abstract framework of discussion in which "anarchy" signifies the relative absence of hierarchical and compulsory relationships, and "cooperation" denotes relationships in which people act freely in their own interests toward mutual goals with others, the essential logic of my original argument that cooperation is a form of anarchy is unassailable. The only honest way to avoid this conclusion would be to maintain that predominantly hierarchical or compulsory relationships can be considered genuinely cooperative. However, such a contention would leave the door open to call virtually anything "cooperation" and the word would lose any real positive meaning it now possesses. Fortunately for Al and Allen though, there are some real questions about just how anarchic, or how cooperative a society can become in practice. And I suspect that this is the actual underlying source of their uneasiness with my articles (along with their obvious discomfort with the word "anarchy" itself). In the next newsletter I will begin a discussion of the basic outlines of this question, and I invite Al and Allen to join me in a "constructive" dialogue concerning the limits of cooperative and anarchist relationships in practice.

POLITICS IN OUR GRAINS
AND BEANS

by Allen Butcher

There are aspects of cooperative theory and practice that appeal to many different sectors of society and of the political spectrum. This is good, because there is a need to find a common ground upon which all people can unite their energies for mutual aid and advancement. In fact, this "common ground" is the theme most often expressed by many cooperative leaders, and represents the theory behind the adoption of the rainbow flag and symbol as the logo of the cooperative movement worldwide, and specifically of the International Cooperative Alliance.

The basic ideal of cooperation is common to every aspect of modern society (and even has a place in capitalist theory, but that is the subject for another article). As Sue Gardner, of the Plaza Co-op in San Diego wrote in *Jam Today*, Dec. 1979: "There is a definite connection between the cooperative ideal and the religious philosophy of universal brotherhood expressed by 'love your neighbor as yourself.' In fact, this ideal transcends the divisions between both religious sects and political parties. Dr. James Peter Warbasse, founder of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., expresses the practical side of political neutrality in this excerpt from *Cooperative Peace*:

Political systems expressed in governments can properly approve of cooperation. Political parties write endorsement of cooperation into their platforms for the purpose of winning support of members of cooperative societies. This commits the political regime to approve of the cooperative idea. In a country where cooperatives observe political neutrality and endorse no political party, all political parties endorse cooperation; whereas in countries where the cooperative movement endorses one political party, only one political party endorses cooperation.

Sue Gardner goes on to say, and I agree, that "we can not, as a movement, allow ourselves to become closely associated with one particular political party (or religious denomination) or we will end up being alienated from opposing groups."

This is my concern about the recent spate of newsletter articles relating cooperative theory to anarchist theory. However true it may be that anarchist and cooperative theories are compatible, we must guard against the CCG becoming closely identified with the anarchist movement.

We really do not know how much our membership may or may not appreciate their cooperative newsletter being used as a vehicle for the promoting of anarchist theory. Thus, I propose that we institute a newsletter policy that if any particular political theory is propounded in the pages of our periodical twice, it should not appear again until an equal number of articles are run from the point of view of one or more other philosophies, theories, or political bases.

Perhaps we should declare that the CCG will devote a certain amount of its newsletter resources specifically for political discussions. This may or may not be a bad idea, as politics is certainly a major concern to many people; this may actually help increase interest in our newsletter, and by association, our cooperative, as we become known for the high quality of the debates raging in the pages of our communication organ. Political debates may indeed be an effective avenue for outreach to certain segments of our university-town population. Particularly coming into an election year, politics may be a hot item! Perhaps Jason, Al, I and others can work together to bring our political discussions (and how about religious discussions?) into a larger audience, and thereby more directly benefit our cooperative by associating our name with open, informative, respectful debate.

At this point the dialogue returned to silence. I was so nauseated by Allen's two-faced call for censorship on the one hand, and "open, informative respectful debate" on the other that I never could bring myself to reply to it. After all, since "we really do not know how much the CCG membership may or may not appreciate" discussions concerning cooperation in "their" cooperative newsletter, maybe we should have restricted our articles to less controversial themes like "New products," "CCG financial reports" and supporting "Our man in Washington." That way we wouldn't have threatened the fragile ideologies whose lip-service commitment to cooperation can't withstand the slightest criticism without demanding the censorship of radical opinion.

THE BADGUY REPORT cont.
MANEATER MESSES UP

ling of Kim Linzie. This incident was cited by me as an example of why it was prudent for anarchists and other dissidents to use pen names when writing. The police however are not as much of a problem for dissidents as is the citizenry. Professors, employers, and casual acquaintances can make life difficult for those who do not conform to conventional prejudices and expectations. Getting typed as an "anarchist" can make survival precarious, as I found out when I was fired from my job a few weeks after appearing on the local TV news, and less than a week after the Maneater feature appeared. There is a saying, "Every Frenchman carries a gendarme in his breast," which is true of most Columbians as well. It is the routine authoritarianism of regular people who live conventional lives and shy away from anything which threatens their complacency that makes dissidence dangerous, not merely the armed enforcers.

"The paper's address is a blind post office box."

Very dramatic, but not true. We reply to letters which interest us and ignore the ones that don't. The Columbia Anarchist League as a group refuses to deal with the press. For the reasons why see Lev Chernyi's response to K.R.'s letter in the last issue of ANARCHY.

"Badguy says Columbia is a good place for anarchists to infiltrate the establishment."

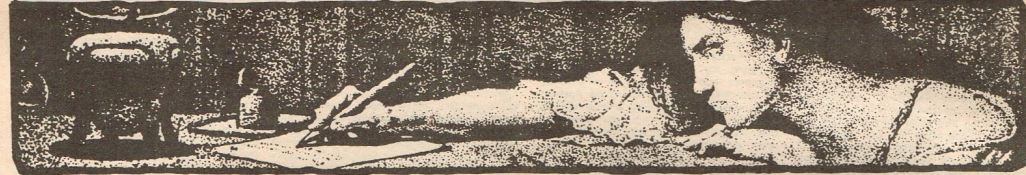
I say nothing of the kind! Anarchists have no interest in "infiltrating the establishment" because we do not think any meaning-

ful change can take place by working within the currently established hierarchical institutions. What we are trying to do among other things, is to create alternative organizations based upon cooperation instead of hierarchy, human desire instead of profit, and imagination instead of compliance.

"Local anarchists do not seek an immediate change in Columbia culture, Badguy says. Instead they want to create a community based on cooperation within the present government."

An incredible statement! What I actually said was, "What we seek is not so much the overthrow of the government, but to create a situation where it gets lost in the shuffle." We have done and continue to do things which are changing "Columbia culture," and we'd like to bring about more drastic changes as quickly as possible. We think that working "within the present government" is a complete waste of time, and worse, such activity tends to legitimize and strengthen an inherently oppressive and coercive state. This is why we are anti-authoritarian radicals who oppose liberals and all reformists.

There are other subtle assumptions evident in this journalistic portrayal which contribute to a muddled impression, but suffice it to say that if you're interested in what anarchists are saying you'd be better off reading this publication, as well as the numerous books and periodicals available at the Columbia Community Grocery, than perusing the mainstream press. Various writers associated with ANARCHY would be happy to respond to written queries about our ideas. Just write us c/o POB 360, Columbia, MD. 65205.



Letters

We would like to encourage readers to write to us in order to open a dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to ANARCHY will be printed with the author's initials unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous. We will try to print every letter that we receive for publication, as long as they are not redundant, overly long, or unreadable. Address your letters to ANARCHY, c/o Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO. 65205.

RESPONSIBLE PORNO?

Dear C.A.L.,

Thanks for the new *Anarchy*. Liked the articles on pornography. What makes this issue so confusing is that there is so little socially responsible pornography. There is such an absence of love in most of those types of magazines. They glamorize casual sex without affection, to the point that you fantasize about fucking bodies instead of people. But I'm definitely against censorship. I just hope people aren't affected too strongly by its "people as things" mentality.

Someone at *Kick It Over* suggested that I read *Begin at Start* by Su Negrin. Could you send me a copy? Enclosed is a check.

Thanks,
E.S., Laurence, KS

LEARNING FROM THE IWW

Dear friends,

I enjoyed the October/November 1985 issue of *Anarchy*—in particular the article on the decline of radicalism in Columbia. Champaign-Urbana is similar to Columbia in many respects. It is also a midwestern college town with a once thriving alternative sector now in decline. We also have a community radio station, WEFT, similar to your KOPN. The same pressures described in Lev Chernyi's article are also at work at WEFT, which is becoming steadily more bureaucratic and conservative.

I think community activists could learn a lot from the IWW. The Industrial Workers of the World, in spite of its faults, still provides an example of a self-managed organization run by its members for eighty years. This is not to say the IWW is a model to be adopted blindly, since it is a labor organization, not a community one. But if commu-

nity organizations adopted some of its features, then bureaucratic tendencies might be overcome. Such features include: an absolute minimum of paid staff, a regular rotation of officer and staff positions, direct decision-making by members through general assemblies or referendums, and direct financing of the organization by the members in the form of dues or some other method.

Another factor, however, which should not be discounted to explain why the IWW has remained self-managed, is the presence of so many anarchists in its ranks. Undoubtedly if there were more anarchists in

community organizations, instead of so many liberals and marxists, there would be more pressure to keep things under member control.

In solidarity,
J.S., Champaign, IL.

PS: Here's a contribution for *Anarchy*.

NEITHER GOD NOR MASTER

Hello *Anarchy*,

I was sent a copy of your Oct./Nov. 1985 issue by the people at *Fifth Estate*. I knew that I stumbled on to something good when I saw your slogan: neither god nor master. Needless to say I read the entire

issue and was impressed enough to want to subscribe. I have a personal question to ask of Lev Chernyi. Are you any relation to the anarchist poet of the same name who was executed by the notorious Cheka in 1921? Or are you using his name as an alias? (Anyway, just curious.)

The most interesting part of the paper was Bob Black's "Abolition of Work" supplement. It was eerie, because on 11/20, about a week before receiving your paper I had jotted down a short piece in a frenzy of anger and passion that clearly parallels Black's writing. So, I

Continued on back page

SEETHING THROUGH THE CRACKS

Still sorrow lakes
fill my mouth
yet empty out again
in hunger.

Why is it people smile at nothing,
as if they were bursting with joy?
So many have the State rotting
in their heads;
the President tells them
to raise their forks
and puncture their own faces.
The Prime Minister tells them
to stick their fingers
up their asses, so willingly.

The bureaucrats throw a party
where top-down managers
eat upside-down cake
and stuff the limbs
of low-level workers
into their bellies,
sorry later
for their stomach aches.

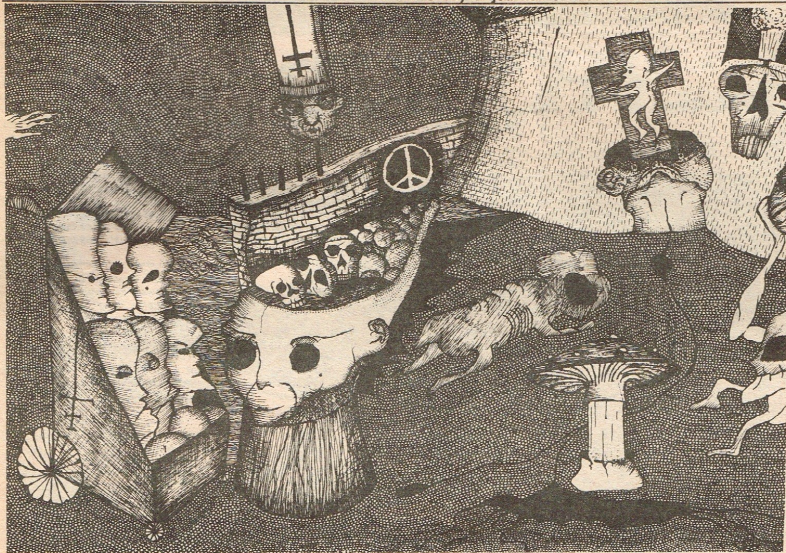
People are dancing through newspapers,
turning somersaults over television sets,
bowing politely to bayonets, smiling
at harsh death,
as if it were watching some comedy.
In a celebration of power, they
clap their hands till they are
raw and bleeding, and in the end,
all that is left is
to go to sleep,

while we seeth
through the cracks.

HARD AS STONE

No wonder lifers turn to alcohol
Rotten life
Straight lies.
The sting of whisky
cools this steaming sadness.
Oh bring me back my baby
from the shadows.
I am watching the river
of the gutter
and nothing comes
to take us away.
Only the sewer,
past our cheap shoes.
Let me no wonder
continue my wandering.
The coiled metal
on my finger
is for the next fist.
How did it get like this?
Contemplate hell
and drink fire.
This fire ice
for this cold ash
of a night,
a sliver of a
moonless midnight,
a foggy dusk
and a sunless morning.
These
I pass through
as a stranger
hated
hateful and
hard as stone.

Sally A. Frye



The plague (Central America)

by Julian Noa

Dengue fever is a mosquito-borne disease which most severely affects children. A mild case produces a high fever, loss of appetite, severe headaches and pains in the joints. A severe case may result in internal and external hemorrhaging, shock—even death. Dengue fever has been spreading in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras. In Nicaragua and Mexico an epidemic is raging.

The cities of Managua, Leon and Chinandega in Nicaragua have been hardest hit. It's in these densely crowded urban areas where the mosquitoes that carry dengue fever thrive. Last summer 60 percent of the population along the Pacific plain of Nicaragua was affected by the fever.

The terror-tactics of U.S.-sponsored troops forces people to move to unsanitary areas. Burn their crops and they become malnourished. Destroy their industry and they become even poorer. Leave them without a public health system and you have created all the conditions for a biological disaster," (Richard Garfield, and infectious disease specialist at Columbia University's School of Public Health)

The war in Nicaragua has resulted in thousands of disfigured and permanently disabled persons. Most are men in their teens and early 20's. 11,000 Nicaraguans have been killed and another 5,000 have been seriously injured in four years of fighting—and that's not counting losses suffered by anti-Sandinista insurgents.

"We have thousands of veterans who will spend their lives blind or handicapped," said Subcommander Antonio Sanjinez, who heads a government agency that tends to the needs of soldiers. "We have to recognize that this is going to be a permanent part of Nicaraguan life."

"It used to be that if you saw someone in a wheelchair in Managua, you'd stop and stare," Mrs. Perez Alonso said. "Now it is natural to see them everywhere." She recently gave her three year-old daughter a toy car "and because it had wheels, she thought it was a wheelchair."

Two years ago Juan Concepcion Murillo

Fonseca was a lieutenant operating near the town of Nueva Guinea when his unit was ambushed by rebels. He is now confined to a wheelchair and lives with his mother and his two sons in a poor quarter of Managua. "My wife left me when she saw me like this," he said.

As this is being written the Guatemalan state is going through the pretense of transferring power to a civilian government. In reality the new constitution which will take effect with the inauguration of the new regime gives effective power to the army.

The new constitution validates the "amnesty law" decreed under the defunct military government of Rios Montt which in effect guarantees that no one from the previous military regimes will be tried for their responsibility for seven years of terror against the Guatemalan people (100,000 orphans, 20,000 widows, 150,000 refugees, 50,000 to 70,000 "disappeared" or dead, 440 villages and hamlets destroyed).

The new constitution also validates the "decree laws" which are the source of two mechanisms by which the army maintains strict control over the rural population: (1) the infamous "model villages," (many similar to concentration camps) in which 40,000 Guatemalans live under military control, and (2) the civilian patrols in which 900,000 men—particularly the whole adult male population—are forced to participate or be called "subversive."

In the last few years the army has further extended its control by means of the "Inter-Institutional Coordinating System." This system empowers military officers at the provincial and municipal levels to oversee all development and social service programs carried out by private and governmental agencies, and thus control all resources and aid coming into the area. In addition, the army has established numerous new bases and outposts in the farthest-flung villages of the highlands. Having laid a careful groundwork, the Guatemalan Army is now in a position to use the president-elect to get more aid without fearing it will lose its grip over the country.

Family members of "disappeared" persons in Guatemala formed a group

two years ago called the Mutual Support Group for the Appearance Alive of our Relatives. They are demanding a full investigation of the thousands of unsolved kidnappings. However, any President who tries to launch a serious investigation will run the risk of provoking a military coup. Accordingly, President-elect Vinicio Arevalo of the Christian Democratic party has said he would not name a commission to look into the disappearances. Nor will he move quickly to prosecute soldiers believed to have ordered or carried out political killings.

Military officers are believed to be ordering the killing of some soldiers and police officers involved in death squads and torture in an effort to prevent evidence from emerging later. A number of bodies with their faces mutilated and hands cut off have appeared lately, and there are indications that some are members of military or security units.

The problem of sheer power appears everywhere we look, and is clearly making Nicaragua and Guatemala unhealthy places to live. But if we are going to talk about sheer power, it helps to start with the United States of America. Nicaragua and Guatemala are after all two of the more charming amusements of U.S. power people and their compatriots who "follow the news."

The U.S. and its pals were heartened by their success in subverting and overthrowing a reformist capitalist democracy in Guatemala (1954), and in maintaining regimes that (to quote Noam Chomsky) "resemble Nazi Germany as closely as any in the contemporary world." In Guatemala the two rounds of elections, the new Christian Democratic president, and the defacement and obliteration of those good soldiers who remember the past too well, all are so much fresh wallpapering and chintz couching. The Guatemalan army officers, the majority trained in the U.S., remain in control and under control.

The question which still remains unanswered is what gives sheer power its force. "What is the psychology of sheer power?"—a question which to me means—what changes in ourselves and in the social and cultural provisions we collectively create can reverse the force of sheer power in the world?

Our health psychologists would prefer to break this question down into discrete, empirical hypotheses they can control experimentally. What we can know is reduced to the kinds of research their "scientific" methodology can handle. So they are willing to inquire into the effects of stress on upper respiratory functioning, or the effects of learned helplessness on laboratory animals. But sheer power is a mass social phenomenon that takes place in historical context. It is hard for scientists to find. The limits of imagination and critical thought have been well-laid by the paradigm (i.e. the rules of the game of experimental psychology).

We know the distance of our psychologists well. We know how easily they rationalize that social conformity is mental health. After all it got them where they are today; it keeps their research money coming, their journal articles accepted and their department heads happy. They stand a lot to lose if they challenge the psychological or social status-quo. And their very methodology of reducing human experience to a set of controllable or manipulable variables is itself just another dimension of a culture of domination cloaked in the language of abstract freedom.

So the work of unravelling the mystery of sheer power has to be done by those of us who have no qualms about purging ourselves of our own pet connectedness with the comfortable and routine. I have no plan to unveil—not even a starting point. How do you feel dominated by me? Why am I afraid of you? Let's tell each other, before we have to fight it out in Nicaragua.

The hemorrhaging and shock of dengue fever, cripples in wheelchairs, the riders of war, and the carcasses of the old butchers slaughtered by those they served—all soon fade as figures, recede into the ground of power. The libido is conquered; the wives leave, their husbands legless; the men kill without feeling; they die for remembering why.

More U.S. aid to Guatemala next year will help the people forget for awhile that nothing has changed.

Reagan and Ortega call each other terrorists. U.S.-supported rebel units have burned down scores of health centers, schools and other public buildings. They have kidnapped, raped and murdered. The Sandinistas came to power in 1979 after a twenty year struggle which included robberies, airplane hijackings, assaults, kidnappings and murders. The birth of a state is deadly.

The U.S., by supporting the Somoza dictatorships for decades, helped create the conditions which encouraged the armed struggle. Our government has increasingly taken measures to isolate Nicaragua and to compel its government to seek Soviet aid.

The maltreatment of the Miskito "Indians," the suspension of civil liberties by Ortega since last October, the nationalism and militarism of the new order, are excused by leftists. Meanwhile rightists exploit these facts using them as a moral imperative; more domination, destruction and death is the stuff of freedom-fighting.

Anarchists point out that all governments and would-be governments partake in terror. But the people of Central America don't need to be reminded by U.S. anarchists, who like all North Americans speak from rather insular ground. The people of Central America need neither Reagan nor Ortega, neither the military, nor Cerezo, neither health psychologists nor high-tech istrogenesis, to live a healthy life.

Ideologists of any kind explaining to them what is going on in their country are no help either.

They do need what we need too. We need one another. We can empower ourselves, heal and nurture, to bond in the collective refusal of roles which divide and debilitate. This zesty project and prospect, the liberation of having one another, is indomitable. The sick, the crippled, the loved ones of ghosts and corpses can begin to reawaken us. The plague may yet turn on itself.

**ANARCHY IS ORDER.
GOVERNMENT IS CIVIL WAR.**
Anselme Bellegarrique (1848)

Letters continued
from page 10

am sending a copy to you--to do with as you please--as well as a money order and am looking forward to seeing your journal in the future.
M.M., Washington, DC

Neither Slave nor Master Be!

The time to act is now! There can be no more delay. Every instant another nail is being driven into our coffins. The worst part of it is that we are the authors of our own enslavement. For we have voluntarily chosen to subject ourselves to the constant oppression of mindless drivel. NO MORE!!

We must wake up and wise up. Our lives are slipping past us. Are we to be like the Roman general who, on his death bed, said he had been alive 70 years and only lived 7 of them? How can we allow our wonderful lives to be warped by useless drudgery and toil? We have no choice; we must discover a way to free ourselves. How long can we remain shackled and still retain our humanity? This is not living, this is living death!

We must be free!! As long as we take orders from another human we are that human's slave. Even if we barter our slavery to 40 hours a week it is still slavery nonetheless. The Free Market only gives us freedom to choose who our next master will be.

Aren't you tired of this? It oppresses me and deadens my soul. We're in a rut that will someday become our grave. No more! I've had it! How about you? I must get out. We can only get out together. As the saying goes: you get either bread without freedom, or freedom without bread. Right now... I think I'd rather starve.
M.M.

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Lev Chernyi" is a penname used in memory of the now obscure Russian anarchist poet who reputedly combined a great interest in the ideas of Max Stirner with an active involvement in the Russian anarchist movement. We will reprint a short biographical article on Chernyi in a future issue.

DESIRE UNARMED

greetings lev,
seated in the "enemy's" office, I write you thanks for another ANARCHY our voice of desire unarmed!
thank you.

the fish and game offices of Alaska are poorly equipped: notice this old IBM selectric II, dinosaur this one....

yes I'm still a bit grabby with this social mess, though ALASKAN PEOPLE demonstrate clearly the pressure of CRITICAL MASS EMINENCE: definite soul-searching and concomitant

agony-of-self. Hope is stupid, certainly, but much more useless in our task.

hey, Alaskans I've met so far are wonderful... far less of a government influence felt, i.e. far less terrorism among the common people--friendship is available.

receiving your envelope gives me great pleasure, and I am given to understand the local post office is, no doubt, in a great tizzy... so the town will know within 40 hours.

anarchist in town...petersburg AK oh my, how little any of us know.... my love to you all time U.C., Ferndale, WA

ANARCHY notes

Those of us involved in the publication of ANARCHY really appreciate all the contributions, subscriptions, feedback & support we've been receiving. Right especially important to us because one of the major sources of financing for this journal has unfortunately been greatly reduced, and we need all the help we can get to make up for this loss in our resources. Of course, I can hardly think of any alternative publication that doesn't always have a ready excuse (and valid

needs) to ask for more money--so why should we be an exception! Fork it up, folks! Send in your contribution to this threat to the public welfare today!

We'd also like to solicit more local participation in this publication--especially from those of you who'd like to see your drawings, photos, graffiti, comic, short stories, book reviews and letters appear in ANARCHY. Submissions can be sent at any time to our address: C.A.L., POB 380, Columbia, MO 65205--or to us personally--if you have an interesting idea, a pressing question, or some striking art work you'd like us to consider. We're always open to creative suggestions and submissions!

University, Angel Cappelletti. A commission was formed to send out a call to all libertarians in Venezuela to participate in the new federation.

Currently Venezuela is suffering from both high inflation and high unemployment rates. Out of 16.5 million Venezuelans about 1.2 million are unemployed, while many millions more are "underemployed." Yet despite these problems the people of Venezuela and its reformist workers movement remain largely passive. SOURCE: STRIKE!, St. Catharines, Ontario

**ANARCHIST NEWS continued
VENEZUELAN FEDERATION**

Venezuela (Anarchist Federation of Venezuela) was formed by delegates from Grupo Solidario, Grupo Libertario Vida Solidario, students from the Central University of Venezuela, and the "Seagull" Anarchist Nucleus. Also in attendance at the meeting were a comrade from the Spanish CNT-AIT exile group in Venezuela and an anarchist author and professor at Simon Bolivar



THANK YOU, Mr. KELLY...